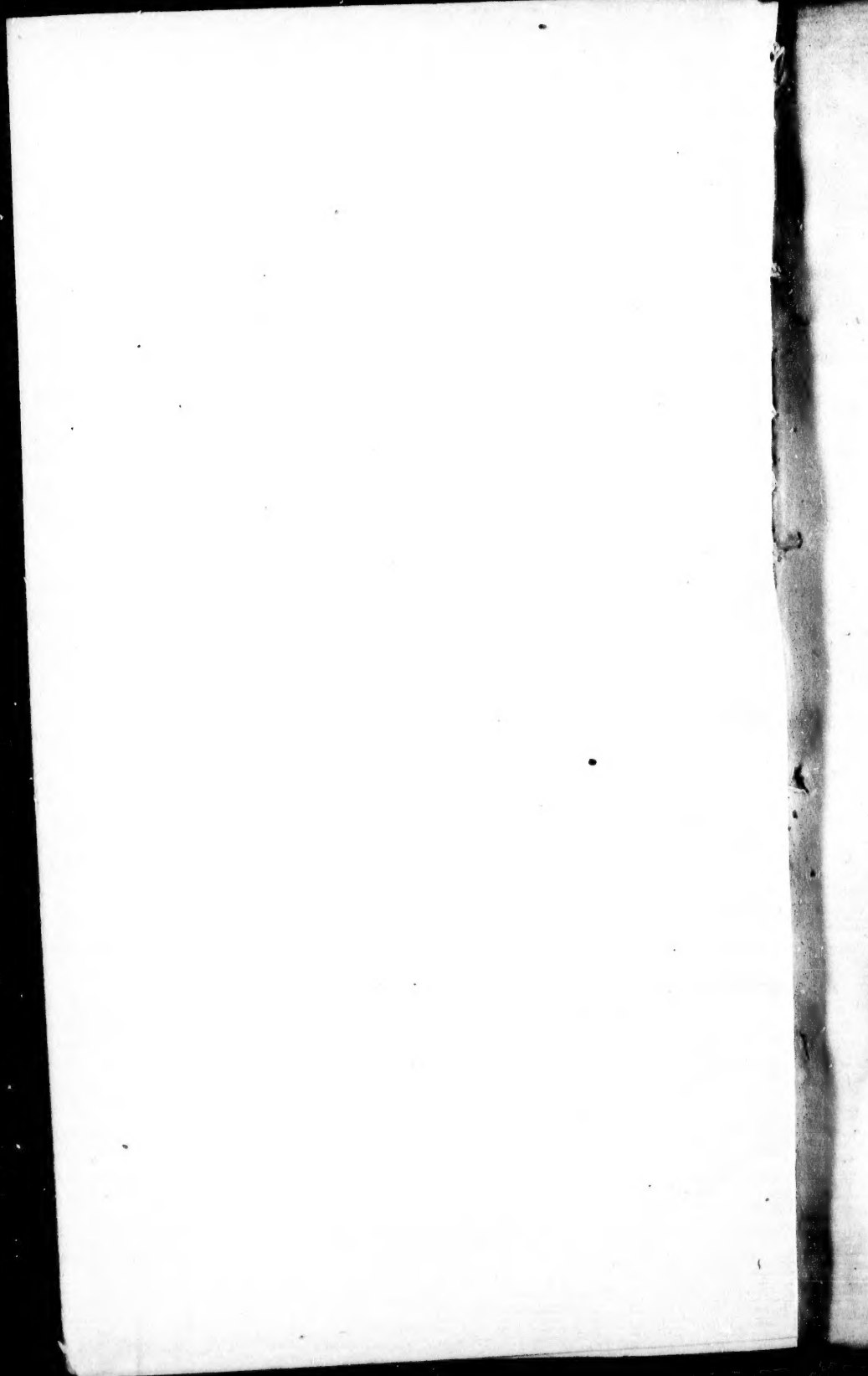




REFLECTIONS

ON THE

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TERMS of PEACE.



L O N D O N :

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M.DCCL.XIII.

REFLECTIONS

ON THE TERMS of PEACE.

THE Terms of Peace now published, fail not to exercise the Talents both of its Advocates and Enemies. For, whilst Men are inventive, and speak the Language of their Passions, or of their private Interest, we may conclude, that a Variety of Opinions will necessarily prevail.

The worst Treaty will have its Panegyrists, and the best will not want its Opponents. They who thrive by War, will most likely exert their Influence for its Prolongation with the most assiduous

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Art. They will appeal to the Avarice of the Interested, to the Hopes of the Pauper, to the Resentment of the Injured, to the active Ambition of the Warrior ; and will remind the glowing Statesman of Victory and Acquisition.

They who seek to gain by Peace, will animate their Cause with similar Address. They will display its diffusive Blessings, will enlarge on smiling Plenty ; and next, will call to View the slaughtering Scenes of hostile Rage, of ruined Countries and relentless Armies, the Tears of Violation, the Sorrows of the Parent, of the Widow, and of the Orphan, with all the afflicting Train of Evils, the usual Attendants on destructive War.

Some again there are, the Neuters of War or Peace, the mere Expletives of State, yet constant to their own partial Ends, who, disappointed in some narrow Pursuit, will not cease to traduce the reigning Measures of their Rulers, if they partake not of those Emanations of Power, which an Opinion of their own Consequence has flattered them with a Right to expect.

Others,

Others, yet more to be lamented, because more abject, are those who disturb the public Order, who asperse or approve solely on the Principle of venal Hire. With these, no Act or Character is exempt from Slander, provided they can get Employment in such dark and insidious Work. Sorry am I to say of them, as well as of many Dealers in Paragraphs, and Volunteers in Scandal, who are equally uninjured and unprovoked, that their Indecencies are such, as reflect Disgrace both on our Nation and on our Liberty; that Liberty (which they turn to Libertinism) so much the Glory and Boast of our excellent Constitution.

With rapid Course vile Defamations fly,
Whilst noble Actions are but born and die.

This Licentiousness alluded to, is alas, but too notorious! As it is daily evident, that every flippant Pen, every illiterate Scribler, credulous in Extreme, without Foundation, assumes the Arbitrator, and reviles the State, in Language, as if they only studied how to walk on the Verge of the Law with

Impunity ; nay often transgress its Bounds, at the Expence of every Motive that is ingenuous, decent and liberal.

Hence it must of Necessity happen, from this Review of Things, that among Numbers, were they even competent Judges, the Estimate we put upon the Terms of Peace, or indeed any other Scheme or Act for the public Service, will in some Measure be precarious, because it will depend upon that fluctuating Good, which we naturally graduate according to our respective Prejudices and Situations.

Yet many still remain, I trust, who urged by Truth alone, firm in that Purpose, and nobly warm with generous Patriotism, mark with the faithful Rectitude of thinking *Britons*, the Disguise of Art, and see with steady Eyes the great Object of the Whole ; will censure human Frailty or unintended Faults with Candor, and applaud, with Impartiality, the Means designed for public Happiness, tho' they prove abortive.

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To proceed then with Hopes of imitating such a Disposition for Enquiry, to the Topic of the Treaty, let us recollect a-while the popular Controversies that have been maintained, concerning the respective Value of the Sugar-Islands ceded to the *French*; and of *Canada*, with their Usurpations on the Continent.

Much has been said in Defence of each Cause; and indeed so strenuous have been the Debates on this Subject, that it would seem some Argument, that the Whole may partake more of political Speculation than of moral Certainty; otherwise it is probable we should more readily have found it ascertained.

As I confess my Abilities not commensurate to this Determination, I would only presume to say, that the Sugar-Islands ceded to the *French*, when considered apart, occur to me, to have eminently the Advantage in respect to immediate Interest; the Continental Cessions made to us, the distinguished Preference in regard to durable Power and remoter Profit, as may hereafter appear.

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If the Question was of a doubtful Nature, when *Canada*, *Cape-Breton* and *Acadia* were only compared to the other, how much heavier must be the Scale, when we add to it the unexpected Acquisition of *Florida* and *East Louisiana*? Before and during the War, 'ere *Canada*, *Cape-Breton*, and the bordering Usurpations were conquered and repossessed, the Choice of the Alternative, between them and the Sugar-Islands, as may be well remembered, was scarce a Doubt, so high did the Pretensions of Value run in Favour of the Continent. The Alarm and Danger now over, it is sunk in Credit, seemingly, because it is less the Novelty of our Success.

Had we at one Time been told of our present Boundaries, even with the astonishing Triumphs of our Arms, what Infidels should we have seemed, if we had not thought such Limits equal to the most brilliant Victories?

The Imagination could not have formed an Idea, that the Enemy would ever have been brought to acquiesce in such Conditions. For, by Means of the
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Mississipi, *Canada* itself is improved; by this Communication its Peltry, Woods and Lakes, are made more subservient, and the fertile Plains of the *Ohio*, brought nearer the Southern Ocean, rise now a navigable Colony, which otherwise would have remained a mere inland Territory, and a feeble Barrier.

We are now in the Heart of their favourite *Louisiana*, Masters of all that mighty Project of uniting by Traffick, the Lakes and the *Ohio*, the Sources of *St. Lawrence* and the *Mississipi*, and of cloathing unnumbered Nations with our Manufactories, Masters of all their Forts and Settlements, the Toil of an Age, compleated to our Hands with great Ingenuity, Labour and Expence; Concessions of such a Magnitude, as must amaze a reflecting Mind, and fill the Wise with Delight; nay all who have Capacity to peruse a Map, must be inspired with the most lively Emotions of Pleasure and Satisfaction.

But behold the Power of Prejudice, even in some well-meaning Men. *Louisiana*, which has been delineated a Land flowing

flowing with Milk and Honey in the Hands of the *French*, is now depressed, when the more valuable and fruitful Half is become our own, to sandy Desarts, and barren Wilds. — *Florida* has equally partook of the like pompous Description, and invidious Censure. But leaving these Observers to range the Fields of Fiction, we may with great Probability say, that although the *Spaniards* have made but little Use of *Florida*, as having less Genius for Cultivation than ourselves, and not in want of Southern Lands, yet we may fairly hope to avail ourselves both from its Soil and Situation. For it being in the same Parallel of Latitude with *Persia*, may become a Colony to raise some of the like valuable Commodities of that Kingdom, and particularly Silk, the Culture of which thrives on the Confines of *Florida*, in *Georgia*, where the Mulberry Tree, on whose Leaves the Silk-Worms feed, so essential to this Branch of Trade, flourishes in the greatest Perfection. A Matter of Moment to this Country, as we now chiefly buy that Article of Foreigners; and as the Trade of Silk, from its growing and almost general Use, is now become, in respect to the Hands it employs

employs, next in Consequence to our
Woollen-Manufactory.

Far be it from my Intentions to elevate any Conquest or Cession at the Expence of disparaging another. My Aim is, that of sincerely representing to the Publick the Value of what they now retain ; to make them satisfied with their Lot, which some may not properly understand, and many may intentionally misinterpret. Not with inflaming Rancour and false Insinuations, wickedly to attempt to disturb the Minds of my Fellow-Subjects concerning what is unalterably fixed, and what merits our warmest Thanks.

The Importance of establishing a Right to cut Logwood, may be gathered from the Difficulty of that Negotiation, as well as from a certain Fact during the Dependence of it. For when it was proposed to M. *Grimaldi*, to ascertain the Right, he avowed never to sign a Condition so dishonourable, as nothing could affect him more than such a Stain on his Nation's Honour ; which particular Article, so greatly mortifying to them, may be judged of, by making the Case our
C own,

own, as it is almost parallel to a Demand made by any Power, to cut Masts in the Woods of *New-England*.

This Grant, so difficult to obtain on the above Account, adds Credit and Lustre to our late Negotiations, as it is expressed in the most clear and absolute Manner, and although the principal Object of the former languid War, was not so much as mentioned at the Conclusion, which with the ever memorable Hostages not made mutual, and so pusillanimously submitted to, are Circumstances as cannot, when reflected upon, but form the most striking Contrast.

No, this Honour was reserved to a Peace, which will comprehend, in its fullest Sense, the Object of the last and the preceding War, and seems to have taken in that necessary Appendage to every Peace, *viz.* Duration and Stability, intrinsically worth Millions Sterling, as much as human Foresight can provide for human Vicissitudes, by specific Limits, and, by adding to Renown and Conquests, in the Eyes of envious Nations, the
amiable

amiable Praise of Magnanimity and Justice.

The Enquiry whether higher Terms might not have been granted, is more properly the Province of the great Council of the Nation to discuss, which has already given its full Approbation, than of any Individual ; but Charity, as well as common Sense, impel us to believe, that if still better Conditions could have been obtained, consistent with Equity, Security, and other prudential Views (for it is not our Interest to depress the *Spaniards* too much) the King and his Ministry would gladly have embraced them.

As it is, they have seasonably secured to this Country Glory and Reputation, whose Impressions, even in a political Light, will plead abroad our Cause, and assert our Privileges. The bare Remembrance of our Arms, will hereafter confer Safety and Honour on Generations to come. All this is secured beyond the Power of Enemies, disastrous Storms, or any the Accidents of adverse Fortune. Our Sun of Victory, in short, could not have set in greater Splendor or Serenity, unclouded by Defeat, I wish I could have

said, what in foreign Nations would have been the Case, unfulfilled by Murmurs.

In respect to the Arrangement of the Islands called neutral, and others, whoever will take the Trouble to peruse them upon a Chart or Map, will find, that if, for Reasons of Impossibility, and indeed of Policy too, we could not, in the Nature of Things, keep all; it must be acknowledged, that in the Assortment of Territory, the Ministry have paid a judicious Attention not to intermix with each other, where it could be well avoided, the Omision of which Regard might have generated many Feuds in Futurity.

Dominico indeed, evidently once a considerable Object of the *French*, and capable of much Distress to them in Time of War, standing like a Centinel over the west Part of *Martinico*, and in the Neighbourhood of *Guadaloupe*, happily remains with us, by which we gain a most refreshing Station for our Ships, in the Course of Navigation to the *Leeward Islands*, in the necessary Articles of Wood and Water, Limes, and other Fruit.

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It is the most known and frequented by the *English*, of any of those Islands stiled *Neutral*, and is in itself so valuable an Atchievement, as to need no Addition of Praise. The South End lies in the Latitude of 15 Degrees, 14 Minutes; the North End in 15 Degrees, 40 Minutes. So that in Length it is about 26 Miles, but it is not more than six over.

There stretches through the Island one broken Ridge of Hills, with Water running down all its Sides. The largest Plain is that of *Roseau*, towards the S.W. where is the chief Settlement. Prince *Rupert's* Bay is convenient, and spacious enough for any Squadron, be it ever so great.

The *Indians*, who are numerous here, chiefly possess the windward Side. The Colonists cultivate Coffee, Cotton and Cocoa, of a very good Kind, and like the other Islands, it would produce excellent Sugar; which the *French*, who held it only by disputable Tenure, discouraged, on account of making them too eminent in
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the View of their Neighbours; till Length of Possession had mellowed their Title into Right. Its Position makes it a convenient Station for the King's Cruisers and Privateers in War, to wood and water; and although to the West of the Meridian of *Martinico*, Ships can, for the most Part, stretch from *Roseau Bay*, at the S.W. End, and fetch *Martinico*. When possessed this War by Us, there were 700 Settlers, who bore Arms, and among these, some of Substance.

Tobago, from its Situation near the *Spanish Main*, may, when settled, like *Jamaica*, become a Key to the *Spanish Treasure*. The Fertility of this Island has already drawn the Speculation of many intended Settlers towards it. Superfluous Hands in *Barbadoes* will assist to occupy it, as many annually go from thence to the *Dutch Settlements* of *Demarara* and *Isqueba* on the Continent. The Banks of the *Demarara River* are almost wholly inhabited by the *English*, under *Dutch Government*, who buy Plantations, but are laid under very great Restrictions. *Tobago* will remedy that
Evil,

Evil, which was yearly encreasing, and draining us of Labour and Slaves to settle an Alien Land. Its Coast abounds with Fish and Turtle, and the Island is excellently accommodated with Water, Wood, and safe Anchorage.

The next in Progression is *Granada*, whose Soil is rich, and contains a very fine Harbour. Its Improvements and Cultivation may be guessed at, by its having been inhabited above a Century. But the Value of it, which is proportionably great with any Island in the *West-Indies*, has not been conspicuous to the World, on Account of its Produce being carried to *Martinica*.

The *Granadilloes* are Islands scattered between *Granado* and *St. Vincent's*, besides many nameless little Ones, are those, called by the *French*, *Islet Rond*, *Le Griffon*, *Cariouacou*, *Union*, *Mustiques*, and *Becouya*, or *Bequia*, which last is fertile, has an excellent Bay entirely land-locked, and steep to the Shore, called *Privateers Bay*,

Bay, but no Water but what is produced by digging the Sand, which is brackish.

St. Vincent may be made a noble Sugar Island, as there are fine Plains, capable of producing abundant Crops. Its chief Commodities at present are Coffee, Cotton, Cocoa and Tobacco, the Culture of which last might be suppressed, as our Continental Colonies supply us amply with that Article.

During the last War, there was a Custom-House, where every thing was regularly entered, and paid Duty to the *French King*. It is about twenty-five Miles South of *St. Lucia*, of a circular Form, well watered and wooded, has a good Harbour, and rich Soil, in which Sugar-Cane flourishes exceedingly. The *Caribbee-Indians* are here more numerous than at *Tobago*.

From this Sketch, inconsiderable as it is, for more could not come within due Compass, it is apparent there has been Respect shewn to the Propriety of Partition. As by adopting Islands lying nearest

nearest together, not only many Inconveniences are avoided, but they more effectually afford each other mutual Support. In Peace, the reciprocal Offices of Friendship and Trade are better carried on, and in War they form a stronger Phalanx to resist and annoy the Enemy.

Islands have also their Advantages that are small. In this Case also we have the Preheminence of Numbers. The large Island of *Hispaniola* would encrease in Value, even under the same Superficies, was it divided into many insular Parts, because it is nearer Navigation, and the Length of Carriage of their Commodities, renders Plantations distant from the Sea, of infinitely less Value. Hence we erroneously calculate the Capacity and Trade of Islands in the *West-Indies*, if we judge all together from the Proportion of their Size.

But relative to the Growth of Sugar-Canes, and other Articles of that Climate, it is admitted by Judges, that even those who possess the least Land of the three late belligerent Powers, have more Soil

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than

than ever can be cultivated in that Way. Hence the Foundation of our Jealousies is not in Reality so great as our Imaginations paint it, since *Jamaica* alone could supply all *Europe* with Sugar, was it cultivated throughout its Surface.

It might be looked upon as a sinister Design, which the Owner of these Sentiments firmly disavows, if in this Place the Mention of *St. Lucia*, so much the Idol of some worthy and sensible Persons, had been omitted.

Numerous as our Politicians are, most seem to agree, that if *St. Lucia* and the Fishery had been excepted by Us, that then the Peace would have been uncontroversible in every Point. And they equally unite in confining whatever is worthy Dispute to *America* alone, on which therefore our Animadversions principally turn.

St. Lucia, convenient as it might have been from its Position, its Harbour, and being a Place of Arms in Time of War, is yet no fatal Deficiency. However, the
same

same Arguments which plead for our Enjoyment of it, plead as powerfully for the unalterable Attachment of the *French* to it. Commercially considered, as to Produce, it is no capital Object, because it is small, and we have already Islands enough; in respect to its Utility in War, the Reduction of it would be easily effected, did we either find it necessary to dislodge the Enemy, as Annoyers of our Trade, or to make it a Port of Arms, which *Dominico* or *Granada* would for so temporary a Season supply, if *Antigua*, our present Harbour and Magazine did not answer that Purpose. If we coped with *France* before, we are surely more able now, with more Trade and Territory made at their Expence.

In regard to Hurricanes, though dreadful Visitations, they rarely happen, and their returning Times, as to the Season of the Year, are nearly known, and therefore provided against. And let the long Period we have carried on our Trade to the *West-Indies*, suffice to say, that *St. Lucia* is not absolutely essential, notwithstanding the Opinion of some,

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and

and the Offence it has given others, whose Zeal and good Wishes have carried them to hope for Things in our late Negotiations beyond the Bounds of human Attainment.

And here let it not be unworthy Remark, that our new-acquired Islands before-mentioned, are more without the Reach of these raging Blasts than those to leeward, which Circumstance undoubtedly aggrandizes their Value.

Little, I doubt, do our Disputants closely consider the perplexing Difficulties of such a public Negotiation as that of Peace. They perhaps make not sufficient Allowance for the interfering Claims and Systems of Neutral Powers, National Expectations for private Interest, for obdurate Pride and lurking Revenge, for subtle Intrigue, the Application of every Art and Engine to counteract the best concerted Measures; and lastly, our own Disability for continuing a War so tremendously expensive to this Country.—Indemnification, Restitution,

tion, Compensation, we know are Terms not always easily apprehended or adjusted between Man and Man; but, when applied to powerful and contending States, are still less pliable and ductile.

Having passed in Substance some of the most controverted Parts of the Preliminaries, let us stop a while at the Fishery, declining those Articles, for Brevity's Sake, against which no great Altercations arise. The Fishery then, the *sine qua non* of the *French*, or the unalterable Point of their Demand, has been apparently calculated rather to amuse their Subjects, than avail the State, as it is more plausible than solid, because fettered with very material Strictures. The more profitable Parts of the Fishery, those I mean intended for a vendible Commodity in foreign Markets, seem not the Object of their Aim, from the Nature of the Fish in the curing Part; and the comparative Extent of their Limits will ever keep them below any Competition in Respect to their Rivalship with us.—Our late Acquisitions of Coast only about the Island of *St. John's* in the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*,

rence, and of *Gaspy*, small as they seem, are equivalent in Consequence to the Fishery of the *French*. The Distance too, they are to keep from our Shores, which if they transgress, are liable to Confiscation, is such an Embargo on the Grant, as must render it of small Value. Again, the Fogs so prevalent in the Country, which may subject them to Mistakes, will not be our Detriment, but their own.

There is one Article more of new Importance to us, in which we only can partake ; the Whale-Fishery, but of late carried on in the Gulph, and at the Mouth, of *St. Lawrence* to very beneficial Purposes.

In the Name of sober Sense, what is it the *French* have got by this Cession ? Even no more than the Shell of the Nut, the Shadow of a Fishery, which can easily be cancelled when Provocations justify us. They who see by this Grant, restrained as it is, future Navies arise to destroy our own, may speak coercively
to

to our Passions, but surely cannot convince our Reason.

The Loss of *Senegal* to the *French* on the Coast of *Guinea*, renders *Goree* a Cession of a very inferior Kind. The Natives do not allow the *Europeans* any Erections on the Main Land opposite *Goree*, so that this Territory is confined to a very rocky and sandy little Island, which, by its Situation against the Continent, forms a capacious Bay of deep Water to the Shores of the Island, in which we can safely anchor without Gun-shot, and always puts it in our Power to take *Goree*, or put what Strictures we please upon its Trade, which consists only of Slaves, and that in no competent Degree. Hence no Part on the Coast already our own, could have been substituted with equal Convenience and Advantage to ourselves. The *French* knew its Insignificance without *Senegal*, and laboured at having any other Place assigned them, as it was so limited in its Produce, and so susceptible of Controul, which *Senegal* is not.

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The River *Senegal*, whose amazing Length of Course, gives us already those valuable Articles of Gold, Ivory, Slaves and Gum-*Senega*, with the Prospect of a great Increase, can well support itself, and is known to be totally independent of *Goree*, notwithstanding the many Insinuations to the contrary, so industriously propagated.

If we turn our Eyes to *India*, we see our Affairs there, wear the most pleasing Aspect; the Preliminaries express, "To restore to *France* such Comptoirs [Factories] as they had in the Year 1749, in the Condition in which they now are; and farther, to erect no Fortifications, or keep any Troops in *Bengal*." — A State attended only with a Name, with much present Expence if they attempt a Renewal of their Company, and scarce a Chance of Benefit for Centuries to come. If the Trade before the War was a losing one, and according to their own Authors of Credit it was, what must be the Case when they have every Thing to begin *de novo*, against a Rival already established Masters of that Commerce,
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of the Country, and of the Minds of the Natives.

Pondicherry, that imperious Fortress of the *French*, erased, has, with their other Defeats, erased also their Credit. The Notions of Power operate no-where so indelibly as among the People of the East, and therefore must have their consequential Effects.

Behold the Continent of *America*, and there we shall find we have acquired sufficient Surface ; and though some of it has been alledged to be a sandy Desert, yet, admitting the Suggestion, there is Fertility enough for any Superfluity of Men which may arise from other Parts for Ages without end. To have proceeded would have been Phrenzy. The Possession of *South America* would be our Bane ; which, could a Wish accomplish, we ought not to hesitate, in a public Capacity, to decline. Farther Southward, the Climate grows intense, more destructive of Vegetation, and more pregnant with every fatal Disease. The

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Gems,

Gems, the Gold and Silver of *Mexico*, *Peru* and *Brazil*, may be glittering Baits to captivate Ambition, or allure Rapacity; but who wants to be informed that these Riches, made current, are already our own, without the Fervor of their Suns, by the Wages of honest Industry, and the Price of our staple Commodities; so long as we keep entire our present Possessions, the Balance of Power and of Commerce, which the Treaty of 1762 has extended and *secured*. Let us indulge ourselves with a Moment's Amusement, and view the Kings who splendidly call themselves the Sovereigns of these Countries, and then determine, if they are not less glorious and powerful than our own Monarch; or if their Subjects are not less happy than ourselves. See them slothful, wretched and enervated; their Parent-Country a Desert, their Colonies in a manner a Sepulchre. In short, to them, such distant Empire, and so circumstanced, is like to expanded Metal, exchanging solid Substance for gaudy Splendor. In Part, so far may be applicable to *France*, in respect to that Portion of *Louisiana*, on the *West* Side of
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the *Mississippi*, which they stipulate to retain, a Territory that gives them no Command of Power, and seemingly promises not much Profit, as neither Mines nor other valuable Discoveries have yet been made; and, if we may guess from its present languid State, and the little Progress in Improvements since they occupied it, we may reasonably conjecture, that their Rivalship from that Quarter will give us little Disturbance. It is Pusillanimity to fear it, especially if we consider the vast Disproportion of Strength, where we out-number them as Fifty to one.—On the Contrary, it may rather be expected, when, in the Course of a few Years, we become established in our New World, when the Minds of our new Subjects (at present perhaps a little warped by Prejudices infused by the *French*) become conciliated to our Mode of Government and our Liberty; then, I say, it is scarce *dubious, but that our *America*, containing the Subjects of one Power, calculated to breed Men robust in Constitution, and inured to Hardships, must be superior in Strength to the Southern Parts of the Continent, broken

in upon by the *French* *, *Spaniards*, *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, and Enemies of unsubmitting *Indians*, which tend farther to disjoin these already divided Interests. Little then must be the Danger from the *French*, as now limited to Western *Louisiana*, almost without Ports, so unfavourable to Population, and under the near Inspection of a maritime Power, which could subject their Coast by the single Appearance of a trifling Part of their Navy.

For my own Part, notwithstanding the characteristic Proverb, "Give a *Frenchman* Land, he constructs a Fort; give a *Spaniard* Land, he builds a Church," I am inclined to think, that though the *Spaniard* is more the passive

* The *French* and *Dutch*, particularly the last, have several Settlements on the Coast of *Guiana*, a Province in *South-America*. The *Portuguese* have the *Brazils*, and the *Musquito Indians* inhabit the Shores of *Honduras* and *Campeachy*.

Neighbour,

Neighbour, and of a less inroaching Disposition, yet in some Instances, as in this before us, it may be ultimately more to our Interest, to have that Country occupied by the *French*, in Point of giving Umbrage to the *Spaniards*, who, as Individuals, bear cordial Enmity to each other; as *France* hath ever made them more the Dupes of its Politics, than the Subject of their Respect or Care, and would therefore proportionably abate the Jealousy between *Spain* and *Britain*, more naturally connected by Ties of mutual Interest.

To make us still more sensible, and satisfied with the Happiness of our present Peace; is it no Advantage to the Nation, no Comfort to a patriotic Mind, that in this Situation of Things, we have the unmolested Monopoly of many Articles of Trade, in which the *French*, *Spaniards*, and many other Nations of Consequence, are for ever excluded? I mean our Lumber, Materials for Cooperage and Provisions, on which we set our own Value; our Furs, and many naval Stores, with which *North-America* now
begins

begins to emulate the Countries of the *Baltic*.

How much the Enemy once sought to endanger these Blessings and Emoluments, they so well understood, their formidable Power, their Bulwarks, their extended Chain of Forts like Walls of Circumvallation, which had well nigh environed and overwhelmed us, fully evince.

Such Dangers the Ministry have in their Wisdom effectually removed. They have for ever turned the assailing Weapons upon the Aggressors, should they again provoke; for it is in these Parts, this human Hive, not in the sultry Tropics, that Power is derived to form our Battles, and maintain our Rights.

Should the Enemy presume, in future, to disturb us in our legal Possessions in any Quarter of the Globe, with what Facility may we pour Vengeance upon them, when our *American* Continent conveniently placed, nay more, qualified alone to controul the Islands of the *West-Indies*;

Indies, is ready to co-operate with the Mother-Country, to chastise an Insult? The Impartial surely cannot reflect upon this Truth, without acknowledging its Force, and that by demanding Continental Cessions, as we could not retain all, they have prudently begun at the right End, were we even romantic enough to be inspired with the Tenets of the *Macedonian* Hero.—So much superior is the Chance of our Continent subduing their Islands, should such a Contest arise, than that our Colonies should become subservient to their insular Possessions.

The Wishes of this Country have ever been to deprive the *French* of a Port in the Western Continent. To this End our Policy has been immemorially directed. The Stride now made has nearly compleated those darling Views. The weak Barrier of *Georgia*, and of our late Southern Settlements, are now made strong, not only by removing troublesome Neighbours in close Contiguity, at a greater Distance, but by occupying their strongest Fortifications and Ports, which will command a considerable Part of the
Spanish

Spanish Trade in War, and protect our own, as we have, by this Step, obtained a Security, never before enjoyed, of traversing the Great Gulph of *Mexico*. Let us also add, as one Advantage not inconsiderable, that the Towns and Territories of *St. Matthew*, *St. Mark*, *Augustin*, *Pensacola*, *Mobile*, *Florida*, and *East Louisiana*, ceded to us, have not been in our Memories the Theatre of war, (one Place excepted) consequently these Conquests, from our Ignorance of the Places, would have been more difficult, whereas those we have returned them, are, with their Bays, Harbours, Rivers, Watering-Places, Passes, Roads and Fortifications, as exactly taken as the correctest Surveys could admit of, a Circumstance of infinite Moment to avert a War, and to awe them into a Continuance of good Behaviour. In this Light also, the Partition has its comparative Value ; for even admitting the Sugar-Islands rendered more temporary Profit, as has been observed, the other, of which we only as yet see its worst Side, is likely to be made more lasting, as more evidently founded on Principles of Concord and Stability. Besides,

fides, *France*, over whom we most watch, is certainly, from the Nature of our Power, more vulnerable in her Islands, than elsewhere.——

The Fishery likewise, is magnified, and made so much the Subject of Declamation, is enjoyed by them under such humiliating and nerveless Conditions, that the Annihilation of it, should the Enemy force us to such Extremities, is not the Week's Work of a single Squadron. Those who can see, in the little Islands of *Miquelon* and *St. Peter's*, future *Dunkirks* for Trade and Annoyance, may possibly mean well, and their Suspicions may arise from a laudable Love of their Country ; but by what Charm this is to be accomplished, we are not acquainted. As well might they believe, for it is equally preposterous, that the Fogs of the Climate will be the Allotment of the *English*, whilst Serenity and Sunshine will be the propitious Portion of the *French*. Apprehensions so void of Foundation, and so indiscriminately published, serve, like many others, only to sow Ran-

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our, and propagate Discontent, to the manifest Injury of the State and of Individuals, against whom, oftner than Measures, such boisterous Clamours are levelled. But there is still more ; these rocky Fragments of *Miquelon* and *St. Peter's* have also been converted into *Monte Christies**, terrible Asylums of illicit Traffic to our vast Continent. Did we find that *Isle-Royale*, when in Possession of the *French*, a Fortress of Strength, and better calculated for illicit Trade, was adapted to this Purpose? There is neither the Temptation on our Part, nor the Abilities on theirs, as at *Monte Christie* ; as well might they attempt to import Spices from *Labradore*, as avail themselves in

* *Monte Christie* is a Port in the *Spanish* Part of *Hispaniola*, where some of our *North-Americans*, in War especially, carry on a secret Trade with the Inhabitants of the Island for Provisions, Pipe-Staves, and other Kinds of Lumber ; and although esteemed contraband, is said to be very beneficial to *Britain*, as the Gain centers with us.

St. Peter's and *Miquelon* of Profit from our Coast, to any Degree of Consequence, in Exchange for their Commodities.

It has likewise, with equal Penetration, been observed, by a Writer, That the Position of the above Islands is dangerous in respect of being situated near *St. John's*, our strongest Port on the Island of *Newfoundland*; but it is plain he neither knew their Situation, nor had he consulted his Map. *St. John's* lies on the East Side, and the Islands in Question at Two hundred Miles Distance on the South Side of *Newfoundland*. And indeed had his Geographical Observation been a Fact, his Reason would have reverted upon himself; for assuredly the Danger is less on our Account, in proportion to the Strength we have near them.

This minute Mistake would not have deserved a Recital, much less a Confutation, had it not been to shew the Proclivity of some to Error and Misrepresentation. Falshoods we daily see, whose

Authors, when they tend to Right, are cold and insipid, when they deviate towards Wrong, they are rapid and extravagant. But there ever did exist a Set of gloomy Politicians, who may be said to seek for Sorrow, and relish truly no Success.

Indeed, Opinion, the very Spirit of Liberty, should be free as Air, it is our Birth-right, and may the inestimable Privilege long continue; but at the same Time, let us be honest and judicious in its Use; at least, let decent and deliberate Argument be our Guide, so as to behave in our Controversies with that Civility and Decorum becoming Persons not actuated by Rage or Party. Let us seek to convince, rather than vilify; and when we give our Antagonists the Fall, let it be like the Fall of *Cæsar*, graceful and modest, but not the Stab of *Brutus*. In short, let us attack as we should like to be attacked. Good Manners is expected by all throughout Community; it is the Cement of Intercourse, and the Bond of Peace. Why then should Casuists depart
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from so generous a Point, whether in Conversation or in Print, when probably the Basis of the Dispute is but political Conjecture, or oftentimes at best, uninteresting Certainty ? The Name of Author carries with it the Idea of Respect and Importance ; but how shrink they from the Dignity of that Character, who meanly descend to mix Sentiments and Expressions with the lowest of the vulgar Herd ?

Men who write, should be supposed benevolent beyond the common Level. Tinctured with Education in a Land like ours, they should soar above Petulance, and become Defenders, by Example, of the Liberty of that Press, which they so often endanger by their Productions. A Liberty which they talk of, but, by their Abuse, seem not thoroughly to understand.

What Pity is it, that so valuable an Instrument of the publick Health, as the Press, should be so flagrantly prostituted. It is Bane or Antidote, as it is differently applied ; a Poignard in the Hand of the Assassin,

Assassins, or a Shield in the Cause of
 Virtue. When I consider the Utility of
 the Art of Printing, I am enraptured
 with the Discovery. To it we owe our
 Instruction and our greatest Pleasure; nay,
 there have been Periods, when Slavery
 itself has fallen beneath its literary Power;
 and may it ever stand up the Patron of
 the Public, in Hours of general Danger!
 May it be the Beacon to spread the just
 Alarm with Respect and Duty, when-
 ever the usual Avenues of the Royal Ear
 are shut to humble Remonstrances, or
 wholesome Expostulation! Happy would
 it be, were these the uniform Effects,
 when such Occasions offer, but Thanks
 to Heaven, such Occasions do not exist.
 We are a happy People, knew we our
 own Felicity; happy in Power, in Re-
 putation, in buxom Plenty, and in Peace.
 —A Peace, which, to sum up all, is the
 best these Kingdoms ever experienced,
 is adequate to our Conquests (pause not
 my Reader, because it has been fashionable
 with some to think otherwise, for I say
 adequate) if we consider it liberally in
 all its Circumstances, and not by Parts,
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both in respect to the Time the Negotiation for the Preliminaries commenced when the Presumption of our Success at the *Havanna* was against us, and the great Occasion of Frugality to a State, diminished in Men, and absorbed in Debt, thus critically obviating Millions of Expence in Preparations for another Campaign. Besides, let us add, the Glory of saving the Kingdom of *Portugal*, for which too our own Honour and Interest were so essentially concerned ; the restoring captive Towns to our Allies, who virtually assisted our Conquests ; the Acquisition of Empire beyond all former Conception, and that so nobly and intelligibly bounded, so advantageously and commodiously connected, that neither Dispute nor Inconvenience can now arise from Neighbours, ever so ambitious and interprizing. A Consideration which must be admitted of some Importance, when we reflect, that the present War was, and indeed most which History affords, have been produced from a Want of proper and decisive Definitions of Territory, which can only make a Peace permanent.

nent. Henceforward, we may firmly rely, that Tranquillity will spread her Blessings for a Perpetuity over those long disturbed Realms. The *Indian*, instigated by the *French* to Acts of horrid Cruelty, will now become an useful Subject. He will now neglect his Scalping-Knife, and bury his Hatchet, for the placid Scenes of Peace ; his War the Chace, his Wish alone Allegiance.

To take a Survey of the Whole, let us a Moment indulge ourselves in the pleasing Prospect of a well-conditioned Domain, circumscribed by the most legible Characters, and happy from Continuity and other peculiar Circumstances within. Let us figure to ourselves a Country, fortified in Front by the Ocean (on which we reign the acknowledged Sovereigns) aided against an Enemy by all the natural and artificial Difficulties of the Coast, and with the naval Power of *Great-Britain*. Again secured by undiscovered Wilds, the possible Work of future Ages to explore, by the impregnable *Pole*, and by the copious Waters
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of the *Mississippi*, within which Barriers lie ample Regions, even so superior in Computation to the Scale of Miles, that Geometricians measure them only by Degrees of the Earth's terraqueous Surface; Regions, in which are included every Climate and Soil, consequently capable of every valuable Production. Rich in numerous navigable Lakes and Rivers, replete with Fish, and joining us in Amity and Intercourse with unnumbered Tribes; in Plains, Hills and Woods, stocked with all the Variety of Animals, Vegetables and Fossils, that can gratify Man, or exalt our Commerce.

Such, I say, is not an ideal Portrait, for such exactly is that *America* we now securely possess, rich in Towns and Cities, rising Colonies, and every other flourishing Circumstance of Population, Trade and Industry, the certain Means of Power and of Opulence. But this is not all, even other Quarters of the Globe have been made, by this Peace, to confess us their mighty Owners. We reap not only half *America*, but extend our

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Sway from our own *Senegal*, whose Springs arise in the very Bosom of *Afric*, to tributary *Ganges*, in more distant *Asia*.

Had other Nations these Advantages, these independent Resources, how would they approve themselves favoured of Heaven! Or, to speak in other Terms, was any different Power, the *French* in particular, invested with such Dominions, how great would be our Envy! What alarming Apprehensions of Danger should we not entertain! Hold but this Mirror up to our Judgment, and we shall be more able to see the Truth. Through this Glass, her fair Proportions will be more justly reflected, than if viewed only through the distorting Medium of our Pride and Vanity.

With Reason then, may we pronounce ourselves much benefited and improved, great in Commerce, revered abroad, and powerful at home. As such therefore is in Reality our State, let us not blast the Laurels of this glorious War, by wanton
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and unjust Reflections on a Peace: Let us not slight the Dispensations of Providence, and the Fruits of our Arms, by ungrateful Repinings and ungenerous Sarcasms. No, rather let us first approach the Supreme of all with fervent Gratitude for the Blessings he has showered upon us, and of late bestowed, in ending the dire Calamities of War; next, express our Sentiments of Respect to those, who merit well in giving Rest to panting Nations, by boldly standing forth our Champions in the arduous Task of Peace; a Task, in which (although a ministring Angel could not satisfy all) they have succeeded, in the Opinion of the Conscientious and Dispassionate, beyond Expectation.

In regard to Constructions of a more narrow Kind, put upon several Articles in the Preliminaries of Peace, by implied Defects, and equivocal Expressions, we may rest assured, that such Objections as are significant, will be fully obviated in the general Treaty. But it must remain a Truth, that most of those, which have been exhibited to the

Public, appear to be of such a trifling Nature, or are in themselves so very crude, as to need no Comment or Illustration. It ought also to be remembered, that Preliminaries are but the Arguments of the Work, the Foundation as it were only of the Fabrick, which is yet to complete. Some Criticisms, indeed, introduced through the Channels of our Newspapers, and other Publications, have, no Doubt, been pertinent, and although the Fears may have been needless, they are yet commendable, because delivered with that Sobriety and Deference, the Companions of Merit, which shew the Owners influenced by Reasons only of public Attachment. These, it is hoped, will be amply gratified, as there is little Question to be made, but the clearest Words, and most explicit Declarations, will be attended to in the Treaty. So much may suffice to wipe off some Impressions, which may have been transiently made on feeble Minds, by the intemperate Sallies of Folly and Inconsistency.

Before

Before I dismiss these Reflections, permit me to add a few miscellaneous Thoughts, which appear to me perhaps in a different Point of View, from what it may affect many others.

In respect to our Acquisitions, I think it would be highly adviseable to keep a respectable Force at *Mobille*, in its Neighbourhood, and on the Banks of the *Mississippi*, as high as the River *Ohio*, and occasionally higher, as Times and Necessity may solicit. Such an Establishment will tend to awe the *French*, and keep the *Indians* in closer Subjection, will encourage our Settlers, when they find themselves protected, and assist Population, as the Soldiers, by marrying, will, with their Offspring, become Colonists. In short, to be strongly defended without by our military Force, and rely more for Protection at home on our Navy and Militia, which are now so excellently trained, seems to be the natural and true Policy of this Country of Freedom.

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In respect to *Minorca*, the Observer may probably be more singular ; since he conceives, that although an Island affording an Harbour inferior to none in *Europe*, yet the Expence is by no Means adequate to its Use. In Peace it is a mere dead Weight, and its Maintenance a grievous Burden, unless we contract the too extensive Fortrefs of *St. Philip's*, which requires many Regiments to man it, and substitute a Part only of the Works to execute the Purpose of commanding the Harbour, in which Case it might be put on such an easy Footing, as the Inhabitants might be near enabled to bear the Expence, together with the little Castle at *Port Fernelles*, and a trifling Garrison at *Citadella*.

In War, unless by Chance we are engaged in the Measures of *Italy*, and obliged to dwell with our Ships on that Coast, *Minorca* is absolutely detrimental, as the Situation of it is so retired from every Intention of watching the Enemy ; and let Experience determine, if in the
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War before this, any of the Enemies Fleets were once intercepted, so that the Use derived to us from the Prospect merely of an *Italian* War alone, is apparently so distant a Contingence, as induces me to think we over-rate its Value.

By having this Harbour, *Gibraltar*, the natural Pass of the Ocean to watch and embarrass the Enemy, is less attended to, whose great Advantages of Situation have been proved this War to a Demonstration, insomuch that one may venture to pronounce, had *Minorca* been ours, we should scarce have boasted of the naval Victories of Admirals *Boscawen*, *Osborne*, and others. — But there is some Reason to expect, that Reforms concerning *Minorca* are, with many others of high Importance to the Welfare of this Country, already under proper Consideration.

Another Suggestion arises of no small Moment, that by attending more to *Gibraltar*, a great Expence in Freight for
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naval Stores will be saved, on account of its being nearer *England*, and less Stores will also be consumed, as the Ships will frequently be careened at home, with the multiplied Advantages of their greater Preservation, of Profit to our Country, and Annoyance to the Enemy; in War by traversing the grand Lines of Navigation in their Passage through the *Atlantic Ocean* in their foreign and homeward-bound Passages.

It has been urged as one Inducement to keep *Minorca*, that by its Means we command more the Respect of the *Barbary* States. But should this have Weight, we may keep it in a Manner to answer every Purpose of Convenience, without its enormous Expence; and what aggravates the Consideration, is, that the greatest Part of the Government's Money, for the Subsistence of our Troops, &c. centers at *Marseilles*, as it is well known the Shops of *Mahon*, *Cittadella*, and *Allyore*, are supplied almost solely with Commodities, in Time of Peace, from the *South of France*.

But

But with Regard to the *Barbary* States, as *Corsairs*, let me ask, if they would not still court us more for the Asylum of *Gibraltar*, if *Minorca* was in the Hands of the *Spaniards*? because their Difficulties would be encreased, and *Gibraltar* become to them a friendly Port, still more necessary and precious.—However, it is not a Question, but that in our Treaty we should insist upon its Restitution. The Honour of our Nation would have been too much sacrificed to have neglected it. All I contend for is, that its Utility seems by no Means to preponderate its late Expence, and that we ought in Prudence, either to retain it in a less expensive State, or seek to exchange it with *Spain* for something more advantageous, which might reciprocally satisfy both Powers.

Did the Author think it of any Moment to the Public to declare himself farther on this Subject, he could affirm, that War is his Harvest, but that his voluntary Pen, like his Heart, rejects all

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fordid and partial Views. He means alone to speak the Language of Probity and of Candour, and not to disturb his Country's Quiet with Duplicity and Cavil, unless he could be useful to rectify the Treaty so as to suit every Palate; in which Sense, did not the Work appear impracticable, all our Dictates would arrive too late,

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